

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 04405 01 OF 02 282353Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----093000 282355Z /62

O 282105Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8598

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 4405

EXDIS

FROM YOUNG AND MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, SF

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: SECOND ROUND OF TALKS WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT

1. SUMMARY: AFTER A ROCKY FIRST HOUR, THE SECOND OWEN-YOUNG MEETING WITH THE PATRIOT FRONT (SUNDAY, AUGUST 28) ENDED WITH NKOMO AND MUGABE AGREEING NOT TO TAKE A POSITION ON THE UK-US INITIATIVE AT THIS TIME. THEY SAID THEY WOULD RESERVE JUDGMENT UNTIL THEY READ THE PROPOSALS IN THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER. AND THEY EXPRESSED STRONG INTEREST IN THE IDEA OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE, THE UN REPRESENTATIVE, AND THE MILITARY FORCES COMMANDERS (RHODESIAN AND NATIONALIST) WORKING OUT TOGETHER IN ADVANCE OF A CEASEFIRE, THE DETAILS OF MILITARY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 04405 01 OF 02 282353Z

AND PEACE-KEEPING ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD.
END SUMMARY.

2. OWEN, YOUNG AND THEIR PARTIES MET AGAIN WITH NKOMO, MUGABE AND COMPANY AUGUST 28 AT UK HIGH COMMISSIONER'S RESIDENCE IN LUSAKA. MUGABE OPENED THE MEETING WITH A RENEWED REQUEST FOR COPIES OF THE PROPOSAL. OWEN'S RESPONSE WAS THAT THE FRONT

LINE LEADERS DID NOT CARE TO SEE THE DOCUMENT NOW AND THAT WE WANTED TO TREAT ALL THE INVOLVED PARTIES ALIKE. THIS DREW A SHARP REJOINDER FROM MUGABE THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (PF) WAS "ENTITLED TO KNOW ALL THE DETAILS" AND ITS "POSITION SHOULD NOT BE DETERMINED BY THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS".

3. AFTER INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION ON THIS POINT, OWEN EXPLAINED THAT THE WRITTEN DOCUMENT DOES NOT PRESENT THE PF WITH A FINAL POSITION ON THE "ESSENTIAL ISSUE" OF THE ARMED FORCES. HE SAID: "THE WHITE PAPER WILL PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK AGAINST WHICH THE DETAILS OF A DISCUSSION ON THIS ISSUE CAN TAKE PLACE". WE WOULD NOT GO TO THE UN "TO ASK FOR A DETAILED RESOLUTION, BUT TO ASK THAT A PERSON BE NAMED TO DISCUSS WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE AND THE ARMED FORCES COMMANDERS THE SHAPE OF THE TRANSITION". ONLY THEN WOULD THE CEASEFIRE BE ARRANGED, A SECURITY COUNCIL MANDATE SOUGHT, AND PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL REQUESTED.

4. AMBASSADOR YOUNG TURNED TO THE PROBLEMS WHICH WOULD BE POSED BY AN INTERNAL SOLUTION. HE NOTED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION DID NOT HAVE SOLID MAJORITY BACKING IN THE US FOR ITS POSITION ON AFRICAN ISSUES. IN THIS CONNECTION, PRESS EDITORIALS HAVE INDICATED THAT IF SMITH OPTED FOR AN INTERNAL SOLUTION BASED ON A ONE-PERSON, ON-VOTE ELECTION, HE MIGHT WELL RECEIVE CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT IN THE US AND ELSEWHERE. WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION COULD NOT SUPPORT AN INTERNAL SOLUTION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 04405 01 OF 02 282353Z

OF THAT KIND--WHICH WOULD MEAN A PROLONGATION OF THE WAR--NEITHER COULD IT EFFECTIVELY FIGHT IT. AT THIS TIME WE ARE ONLY ASKING THE PF TO AGREE TO DISCUSS WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, THE UN REPRESENTATIVE, AND THE RHODESIAN FORCE COMMANDER "THE MEANS BY WHICH WE CAN HAVE FREE ELECTIONS".

5. NKOMO RETURNED TO THE QUESTION OF OBTAINING COPIES OF THE WHITE PAPER. HE MAINTAINED THAT THE PF COULD NOT DISCUSS ANYTHING WITH US WITHOUT SEEING THE PAPER. OWEN SAID THAT IF THE PROPOSAL LEAKED WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, THE RHODESIAN RIGHT WING WOULD INTERPRET PARTS OF IT AS MEANING THEY WILL LOSE EVERYTHING. THEY COULD RESPOND IN A DANGEROUS WAY. NKOMO WAS NOT MOLLIFIED.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 04405 02 OF 02 290003Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----093043 290020Z /73

O 282105Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8599

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 4405

EXDIS

FROM YOUNG AND MOOSE

6. SPEAKING FROM NOTES, MUGABE THEN REGISTERED THE CONCLUSIONS WHICH THE PF HAD DRAWN ON THE BASIS OF THE PREVIOUS DAY'S ORAL PRESENTATION OF THE PROPOSALS. HE CHARGED THAT OUR REAL INTENTION WAS TO PRESERVE THE RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PF. THROUGH THE AUTHORITY ACCORDED THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, WE WOULD LEGALIZE THE RHODESIAN MILITARY AND POLICE FORCES ("FORCES WHICH REBELLED AGAINST THE CROWN"), WHILE LEAVING THE PF IN AN ILLEGAL STATUS. MUGABE WENT ON TO REJECT FLATLY THE PLAN TO MAINTAIN THE RHODESIAN POLICE BASICALLY INTACT. FURTHER, HE SAID BY ARROGATING UNTO ITSELF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR NAMING THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND GIVING HIM "A POLITICAL, MILITARY AND PERHAPS JUDICIAL ROLE," THE BRITISH WERE ATTEMPTING "RECOLONIZATION". "SO, MR. FOREIGN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 04405 02 OF 02 290003Z

SECRETARY," MUGABE SAID, "WE FIND YOUR PROPOSALS WHOLLY UN-ACCEPTABLE WITH RESPECT TO THE TRANSITION PERIOD."

7. OWEN TOOK STRONG ISSUE WITH MUGABE ON ALL THESE POINTS. THE LIBERATION FORCES WOULD NOT BE ILLEGAL; MUGABE HAD IGNORED ENTIRELY THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE UN; AND THE RECOLONIZATION CHARGE WAS ABSOLUTELY FALSE. WE HAD ACCEPTED THAT BY INDEPENDENCE DAY THERE WOULD BE A NEW ZIMBABWE ARMY BASED ON THE

LIBERATION FORCES. ON THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF THE TRANSITION, THE PROPOSAL WAS ONLY A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, THE UN REPRESENTATIVE AND THE MILITARY COMMANDERS.

8. YOUNG THEN POINTED OUT THAT THERE IS A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY THAT SMITH WOULD REJECT THE PROPOSALS FOR REASONS EXACTLY OPPOSITE TO THOSE CITED BY THE PF. NKOMO RESPONDED EMOTIONALLY THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD HAVE ABSOLUTE POWER. THE PF WOULD "BECOME IRRELEVANT AFTER WAGING WAR FOR TWELVE YEARS". THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD "DECLARE A STATE OF EMERGENCY AND ARREST ALL OF US".

9. WITH THE DISCUSSION AT AN IMPASSE, OWEN SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE MORE PRODUCTIVE IF HE, YOUNG, NKOMO AND MUGABE CONTINUED THE TALKS AMONG JUST THEMSELVES. AFTER THE OTHERS HAD LEFT THE ROOM, NKOMO AND MUGABE PURSUED THEIR REQUEST FOR A COPY OF THE DOCUMENT. MUGABE EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS GOING TO THE GUERRILLA CAMPS IN MOZAMBIQUE ON TUESDAY AND MADE A PLEA FOR A COPY BEFORE THEN. OWEN, SENSING THAT THE REQUEST WAS NOW BECOMING AN ISSUE OF TRUST, AGREED TO RECONSIDER OUR POSITION.

10. OWEN AND YOUNG REPEATED THE WARNING ABOUT AN INTERNAL SOLUTION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. OWEN READ ALOUD PORTIONS OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 04405 02 OF 02 290003Z

THE DOCUMENT THAT DEALT WITH THE TRANSITION. THE TWO PF LEADERS THEN SEEMINGLY BEGAN TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE COMMITMENT BEING REQUESTED OF THEM WAS VERY LIMITED. NEVERTHELESS, THEY RESTATED THEIR CHARGE THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER'S POWERS REPRESENTED A RETURN TO COLONIALISM, AND THEY DID NOT AGREE TO UN INVOLVEMENT.

11. IN THE END NKOMO AND MUGABE AGREED THAT THEY WOULD RESERVE JUDGMENT ON THE PROPOSAL UNTIL THEY HAD READ THE WHITE PAPER. MOREOVER, THEY VOICED STRONG INTEREST IN THE IDEA OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, UN REPRESENTATIVE, RHODESIAN FORCES COMMANDER, AND LIBERATION FORCES COMMANDERS MEETING WELL BEFORE TRANSITION DAY TO WORK OUT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ARMED FORCES (POSSIBLY INCLUDING THE POLICE) DURING THE TRANSITION.

12. COMMENT: PRIVATELY, NKOMO AND MUGABE SHOW INTEREST IN THE PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, BOTH ARE LIMITED BY THE PRESSURES PLACED ON THEM BY THE MILITARY ELEMENTS IN ZANU AND ZAPU AND CONSEQUENTLY WILL NOT DEMONSTRATE PUBLICLY ANY AGREEMENT WITH US. NEVERTHELESS, THEY VERY MUCH FEAR AN INTERNAL SOLUTION AND, AS EVIDENCED BY THEIR POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE IDEA OF WORKING WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND UN REPRESENTATIVE, MAY BE LOOKING FOR SOME AVENUE TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

BOWDLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARMED FORCES, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 28-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PRETOR04405
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770311-0189
Format: TEL
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770815/aaaaalxa.tel
Line Count: 225
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 45d3df51-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1456902
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: SECOND ROUND OF TALKS WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, SF, (YOUNG, ANDREW), (NUKOMO, JOSHUA), (MUGABE, ROBERT), (OWEN, DAVID)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/45d3df51-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009